14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ashin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 49?

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

the East Walker River, and then over the Sierras by way of Carson Pass. His return trip was by way of the southern Sierras (Nevins 1956, 49). 175

William T. Hamilton with a trapping party visited Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, went up the Truckee River to Lake Tahoe, then to the Carson River, and returned east (Sieber 1951, 159-165).

The Stevens-Townsend emigrant party led by Old Greenwood with wagons crossed the Sierras westward over Donner Pass. Moses Schallenberger of this party was forced to winter at Donner Lake and later wrote of his experiences.

1845 - Fremont came westward along the Humboldt, to Walker Lake, then to the Truckee River, and over the Sierras by way of Donner Pass (Nevins 1956, 50).

1846 - Major Stephan Cooper with his family and 28 ox teams transported emigrants to California by way of Conner Pass (Thompson and West 1881).

The George and Jacob Donner party crossed the Sierras into California by way of Donner Pass. Of the 90 who started out, only 48 survived the trip.

1847 - Woodfords trading post established on the West Fork of the Carson River. Known as Brannan Springs, then Carey's Mill, and finally as Woodfords after Daniel Woodford (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959).

The emigration increased considerably in this year and with gold discovered in California in 1848 the stream of travelers became a "gold rush" by 1849.

1848 - Mexican land cession (treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo) to the U. S. of territory now California, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona.

The Mormon Batallion under Jonathan Holmes, with William H. Bigler present, cut a wagon road over Carson Pass upon returning to Salt Lake City from the Mexican War in California (Mack 1945).

1849 - State of Deseret organized in Salt Lake City.

Hampden S. Beatie set up a trading post at Genoa for the summer.

175

William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [921]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881).

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959). [648]

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to hawl /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175 ●

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chulap, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opsie, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Taiuch, hair	Malio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175 ●

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

western Nevada (Thompson and West 1881, 67). Overgrazing depleted Washo food in grass seeds and permanently effected the ecological balance in this period. M75 648

1861 - Warren Wasson, U. S. Indian Agent at Carson Valley Agency, in reports to Governor Nye of Nevada Territory in July and August wrote "within the limits of this Agency...the Washoes number 550...have no property of any kind...they have no schools...They have learned that the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them or help to do so at least. There is great justice in this request. The streams in which they formerly fished are now all spoiled for that purpose by the operating of the miners and the washing of the ores and metals. They are indeed most all diverted from their original courses, or dammed so frequently that the fish have disappeared from them. Lake Bigler, lying in the country of the Washoes, and from which they formerly obtained large quantities of the best kind of fish, is now taken possession of by the whites, and has become a watering place, to which large numbers from this Territory and California resort, and from which this poor tribe are virtually excluded. The hills and plains over which roamed plenty of game are now occupied by the Whites, and the game has fled, like the Indians from their presence" (Ingalls 1913, 35). [161] [871]

U. S. Congress approved Nevada Territory under pressure of the slavery question and the wealth of Comstock mining. 175

1862 - "By 1862 Burke and Company were using a half-mile seine to take tons of Tahoe trout daily from the waters of Boundary Bay" (Scott 1957, 443).

1863 - Silver Mountain (first known as Koenigsberg) was a mining boom town in the 1860's with a population of 3,000. (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959, 3).

1864 - Statehood proclaimed for Nevada, 36th state.

1868 - First transcontinental railroad, Central Pacific, completed through Nevada. With the coming of the railroad new towns sprang up as centers for ranches and farms.

A Washo shot by a homesteader for setting a fish trap on a creek leading into Lake Tahoe (Scott 1957, 64). [648]

1870 - 11,500 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments" had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely minimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a megu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

2/2 [See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1850 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1823 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an ameteur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later periods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

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There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

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The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

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As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
492 ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

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177 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
492 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
764 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
423 eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
[233] Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were
[313] made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water,
[464] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of
177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather-
492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in-
241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or
[492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

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Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_2N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_2N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychnine-like and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

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The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.
[6] Beals, 1932, 216.
[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.
[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).
[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.